No. I.

TRACTS ON SLAVERY IN AMERICA.

WHAT THE SOUTH IS FIGHTING FOR.

THIS tract is issued, with a view to enlighten the public mind on the sole cause of the Slaveholders' rebellion in the United States.

The broad statement has been made, that the North—as represented by the Federal Government—is not fighting for the suppression of Slavery. This point may be reserved for later discussion and demonstration. What is of most, and immediate importance, is to show, that the Slaveholders of the South are in arms against the constituted authorities of the country, for the one sole object of perpetuating the criminal institution of Slavery. It is time this "great fact" should be known; should be commented upon; should be made prominent in all discussions upon the cause of this dreadful civil war. Public men cannot then allege that Slavery has nothing to do with it.

The Slaveholders of the South are only THREE HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND in number. They hold FOUR MILLIONS OF SLAVES in bondage, and impose their will upon EIGHT MILLIONS OF WHITE FREE MEN in the South: if they can be called free, who dare not raise their voice against the "sin and crime" of Slaveholding. These Slaveholders have ruled the entire North for nearly eighty years. They have wrung from the North, concessions for the sake of preserving peace and the Union, as disgraceful to it as they were shameful to themselves, and of which the Missouri compromise, the Fugitive Slave Law, and the Kansas-Nebraska Bill may be cited as infamous examples; they have thrust their nominees into the Presidential chair; they have filled with them, the numerous offices of which the patronage resides in the hands of the Government, for the time being; they have sent to represent them, at the Courts of Europe, men notoriously committed to the advocacy of the extension of Slavery, and the acquisition of new territory for it, by any and all

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means; and only recently, others who have boldly expressed themselves in favour of the RE-OPENING OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE. Their purpose now, is to bring the TWENTY MILLIONS OF FREE MEN IN THE NORTH under their control FOR EVER; to prevent all classes of persons from speaking, preaching, writing, agitating against the "sin and crime" of Slaveholding; to introduce into the Constitution—contrary to the known sentiments and policy of the Fathers of the Republic—new provisions guaranteeing the perpetuation of Slavery, and legalizing its re-introduction into the Free States: in a word, to fasten upon the civilization of the nineteenth century, a barbarism more intense in wickedness, cruelty, and depravity, than any to be paralleled in the darkest days of the history of the human race.

This indictment against the Slaveholders now in rebellion, will be established in the succeeding pages, upon evidence furnished by their leaders: testimony given, not in a corner, but in the face of the world, and therefore not to be impeached. They are to be judged by their own utterances, and it will be found that these are ALL FOR SLAVERY.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

First upon the record stands Jefferson Davis, the President of the so-called Confederate States, well known as a "Mississippi fire-eater," and as the author of the repudiation of the Mississippi State bonds.

On the 22d of December 1860, he submitted to the Senate, on behalf of his co-conspirators, the following *ultimatum*:

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Resolved: "That it shall be declared, by amendment of the Constitution, that property in Slaves, recognised as such by the local law of any of the States of the Union, shall stand on the same footing in all constitutional and Federal relations as any other property, shall not be subject to be divested or impaired by the local law of any other State, either in escape thereto, or of transit or sojourn of the owner therein, and in no case whatever shall such property be divested or impaired by any Legislative Act of the United States, or of any of the Territories thereof."

He says further, pointing at the shadow of the then coming event—Secession:

"The belief existing in the Northern mind, that negroes are, under our Government, entitled to political equality with white men, must be dispelled, and Northern men and States must cease to

disturb our domestic tranquillity, or assail our rights of property, and to impair our natural interests, OR A DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION MUST BE INEVITABLE."

A. H. STEPHENS.

A. H. Stephens is the actual Vice-President of the Slaveholders' Confederacy. Let him be next heard. He says:

"The prevailing idea entertained by Jefferson, and most of the leading statesmen, at the time of the formation of the old Constitution, was, that the enslavement of the African was a violation of the laws of nature, that it was wrong in principle. It was an evil they knew not well how to deal with, but the general opinion of the men of that day was, that somehow or other, in the order of Providence, the institution would be evanescent and pass away.

"The idea, though not incorporated in the Constitution, was the prevailing idea of the time.

"Our new Government is founded upon exactly the opposite ideas. Its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests upon the great truth, that the negro is not equal to the white man; that Slavery—subordination to the superior race—is his natural and normal condition.

"This, our new Government, is the first in the history of the world based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth. It is upon this our social fabric is firmly planted; and I cannot permit myself to doubt the ultimate success of the full recognition of this principle throughout the civilized and enlightened world.

"This stone, which was rejected by the first builders, 'is become the chief stone of the corner' in our new edifice. It is the Lord's doings, and marvellous in our eyes."

We doubt whether, for unmitigated blasphemy, this concluding paragraph can be matched.

SENATOR R. TOOMBS.

R. Toombs was the representative of Georgia in the United States' Senate. Here is an extract from a speech which he delivered in it, on the 7th January 1861. His statements were a faithful reflex of those of the Southern party, and his "demand" was notoriously a kind of *ultimatum* which its leaders approved. He said:

"The success of the Abolitionists and their allies, under the

head of the Republican party, has produced its logical results already. They have, for long years, been sowing dragons' teeth, and they have finally got a crop of armed men.

"I demand, 1st: that these States have equal rights to go into the common Territories, and remain there with their property, and be protected by the Government till such Territories shall become States.

"I demand, 2d: that property in Slaves be entitled to the same protection from Government as all other property, and that the Government shall never interfere with the right of any State to abolish or protect Slavery in its own limits.

"We demand that a common Government shall use its power to protect our property as well as yours.

"It is admitted that you seek to outlaw four billions of property from the territories of the United States. Is that the cause of war? Is it a grievance that four billions of property should be outlawed from the territories of one's own Government? and that is what you declare you will do. Your platform, your papers, your legislators declare it, and there is but one voice rolling throughout your entire phalanx, that we shall be outlawed in the Territories of the United States. But I say we will not, and I will never compromise that right upon the face of the earth. I won't buy a shameful peace; I prefer war: Georgia is on the war-path on a proposition of this kind.

"My distinguished friend from Mississippi (Davis) proposed simply a recognition, that we have a right to our own, that MAN CAN HAVE PROPERTY IN MAN, that met with A UNANIMOUS REFUSAL by the votes of the most moderate Union-saving, compromising portion of the Republican party in the Committee. They don't intend to grant it: they are under the Declaration of Independence, that all men are born free and equal. That is the doctrine of the Abolitionists, but not the law of the United States.

"You claim a right to speak, to form Societies, and become a nest of incendiaries, in order to assault your neighbours: you shall not have any such right by your own power. We will have the sedition law enacted, and we will not stop till we get you where we hold the rest of mankind—enemies in war, friends in peace."

In the previous month, Mr. Toombs had already distinguished himself by submitting a similar, but more detailed proposition, to a Committee of the Senate, of which he was a member, and the object of which was, to consider and report upon so much of President Buchanan's message as related to the grievances between the Slaveholding and non-Slaveholding States. This Committee

was composed of thirteen members, the majority belonging to the Southern party. It sat on the 21st, 22d, 24th, 26th, 28th, and 31st December 1860, and was occupied exclusively with a consideration of propositions for amendments to the Constitution, framed to nationalize Slavery; that is, to secure its permanence and its extension, by guarantees it did not possess under the existing Constitution. The exact terms of Senator Toombs' propositions on that occasion were as follows:

I. "That property in Slaves shall be entitled to the same protection from the Government of the United States, in all of its departments, everywhere, which the Constitution confers the power upon it to extend to any other property, provided nothing herein contained shall be construed to limit or restrain the right now belonging to every State, to prohibit, abolish, or establish and protect Slavery within its limits.

II. "That persons committing crimes against Slave property in one State, and fleeing to another, shall be delivered up in the same manner as persons committing other crimes, and that the laws of the State from which such persons flee shall be the test of criminality.

III. "That fugitive Slaves shall be surrendered under the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, without being entitled to either a writ of *habeas corpus* or trial by jury, or other similar obstructions of legislation, by the States to which they may flee.

IV. "That no law shall ever be passed by Congress, in relation to the institution of African Slavery in the States or Territories, or elsewhere in the United States, without the consent of a majority of the senators and representatives of the slaveholding States.

V. "That none of these provisions, or any other provisions of the Constitution in relation to Slavery (except the African Slave-trade), shall ever be altered, except by the consent of each and all of the States in which Slavery exists."

It may be useful to point out, that these propositions were barefaced encroachments, in the alleged interests of Slavery, upon the existing Constitution. The first legalized the institution "everywhere;" the second directly infringed the sovereign rights of the Free States, by imposing upon their citizens, the penalties of the Slave Code of the Slave States, with respect to persons harbouring or succouring fugitive Slaves; the third arbitrarily suspended, in the Free States, the *habeas corpus* Act, in the case of any person claimed as a fugitive Slave, virtually placing the free coloured population of the North, at the mercy of Southern kidnappers. The fourth and fifth must be taken together. They limited, virtually for all time, the powers of Congress in relation to Slavery, inasmuch as no emenda-

tion of this proposed "finality measure," was to be introduced, without the consent of each and all of the Slave States, and of a majority of their senators and representatives. It should, however, be remarked, that in the fifth Article, exception was expressly made of the African Slave-trade, full power being reserved to re-open it at any time. Who can affirm, in the teeth of the foregoing propositions, that Slavery has had nothing to do with the present rebellion?

JOHN J. CRITTENDEN.

Mr. Crittenden, Senator for Kentucky, is known as the proposer of a pacificatory measure, designated "The Crittenden Compromise." It was formally submitted to the Committee of Congress, in the same month of December 1860 as Mr. Toombs', and was, in fact, the *ultimatum* of the Southern conspirators. It ran thus:

"Whereas, serious and alarming dissensions have arisen between the Northern and Southern States, concerning the rights of the Slaveholding States in the common territory of the United States; and whereas, it is eminently desirable and proper that those dissensions, which now threaten the very existence of this Union, should be permanently quieted and settled by constitutional provisions; therefore,

"Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives, that the following Articles be proposed and submitted as amendments to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of said Constitution, when ratified by conventions of three-fourths of the several States.

"In all the territories of the United States, now held or hereafter acquired, situate north of latitude thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes, Slavery or involuntary servitude is prohibited. In all the territory south of said line of latitude, Slavery of the African race is hereby recognised as existing, and shall not be interfered with by Congress, but shall be protected as property. Any Territory north or south of said line, if its form of government be Republican, shall be admitted into the Union, with or without Slavery, as the Constitution of such new State may provide.

"Congress shall have no power to abolish Slavery in places under its exclusive jurisdiction.

"Congress shall have no power to prohibit or hinder the transportation of slaves from one State to another, or to a Territory in which Slaves are by law permitted to be held, whether that transportation be by land, navigable rivers, or by the sea.

"Congress shall provide by law, that the United States shall pay to the owner, the full value of his fugitive Slave. in all cases

when the Marshal was prevented from arresting said fugitive, or when, after arrest, such fugitive was rescued.

"No future amendment of the Constitution, shall authorize or give to Congress any power to abolish or interfere with Slavery, in any of the States by whose laws it is, or may be allowed or permitted.

"That the laws now in force for the recovery of fugitive Slaves, are in strict pursuance of the plain and mandatory provisions of the Constitution, and have been sanctioned as valid and constitutional by the judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States, and that laws ought to be made for the punishment of those who attempt, by rescue of the Slave or other illegal means, to hinder or defeat the due execution of said laws."

It is important to note the chief points of this proposed "finality" compromise. First, it declares that the dissension has arisen concerning the rights of the Slaveholding States in the Territories. Secondly, it proposes amendments to the existing Constitution, thereby admitting that, as it stands, it does not give what is demanded by the Southern party. Thirdly, it requires that the Territories shall be thrown open to Slavery, and the institution never again be interfered with, either in them or in the actual Slave States. Fourthly, that Congress shall not abolish Slavery in the district of Columbia, nor in any other place where it has exclusive jurisdiction, thus violating the Constitution and making Southern policy override the sovereign rights of the national legislature. Fifthly, it legalizes the inter-State Slave-trade by land and sea, and creates facilities for carrying on the African Slave-trade. Sixthly, it renders the Federal Exchequer—in other words, the general revenue—liable for the estimated value of fugitive Slaves who effect their escape through the instrumentality of any third party, and demands the enactment of penal laws against those who interfere with the execution of the Fugitive Slave Act. Lastly, it prohibits Congress from amending the Constitution, with a view to provide for the abolition of Slavery at any future time, or to interfere with it in any way.

Yet the question of Slavery, forsooth, has nothing whatever to do with this Slaveholders' rebellion!

EX-PRESIDENT BUCHANAN.

If the reader will bear in mind that the Southern party has been ever and persistently aggressive; that it encroached more and more in proportion as it obtained new concessions; that its latest demands were more arrogant and subversive of freedom than any it has previously made, he will be able to appreciate, at its true value,

the following barefaced, monstrous statement, made by the late President, Mr. Buchanan. It occurs in his message to Congress, favouring Secession, delivered on the 5th of December 1860. He says:

"All for which the Slave States have ever contended for, is TO BE LET ALONE, and permitted to manage their domestic institutions in their own way. As sovereign States, they, and they alone, are responsible before God and the world for the Slavery existing among them. For this the people of the North are not responsible, and have no more right to interfere than with similar institutions in Russia or in Brazil."

When Mr. Buchanan made this statement, he knew perfectly well that the Republican party, with which he identifies the North, did not contemplate interfering with Slavery in the Slave States, and that the South had been too much LET ALONE. What would have been the result of letting it alone, in its most recent attempt to consolidate its abominable institution, may be judged of from the evidence already furnished.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

It would be easy to multiply testimonies from the lips and pens of Southern men, shewing what is the real purpose of this most wicked rebellion. It is not deemed desirable, however, to extend the limits of the present Tract. Probably a sufficiency of evidence has been submitted to leave the reader in no doubt of the sole object the self-styled Southern Confederacy has in view, namely, THE PERPETUATION AND THE CONSOLIDATION OF SLAVERY, BY THE FOUNDING OF A NEW REPUBLIC, OF WHICH IT IS THE CORNER-STONE.

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